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AUTHOR Larson, James F.; Rivenburgh, Nancy K.
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ABSTRACT

A study was conducted to describe the extent and dimensions of televised messages about nation, culture, and the Olympics, comparing them across three broadcast systems in Australia, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The study was based on complete opening ceremony telecasts by NBC in America, Australia's Network TEN, and the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). Data were gathered on important audio and visual dimensions of the broadcasts. The three major components of the ceremony as planned by the event organizers were: (1) the obligatory Olympic rituals and gestures as defined by the Olympic Charter; (2) the entry/exit of the athletes; and (3) cultural performances including music, dance and demonstrations. Findings indicated that all of the opening ceremony telecasts conveyed an emphasis on both nation and Olympic-style internationalism. A second general finding was that the three broadcast systems offered viewers different constructions of the Seoul opening ceremony. Results also indicated that, despite varied constructions and interpretations of the ceremony, South Korea's overall image portrayal across three opening ceremony telecasts was positive. The empirical evidence presented provides strong confirmation that television constructs the Olympic spectacle into multiple realities and that it does so with profound implications for images of nation, culture and the Olympic movement. (Four figures and four tables of data are included. One appendix, showing the "story units" of the opening telecast, and 39 references are attached.) (MG)

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Televised Constructions of the Seoul Olympic Opening Ceremony in Australia, the United Kingdom, and United States

James F. Larson Nancy K. Rivenburgh

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INTRODUCTION

The 1988 Seoul Olympics demonstrated the scope and power of globally televised media events. Estimates of the cumulative audience--those who watched the Games on at least one occasion--exceed three billion viewers.[1] The Opening Ceremony alone attracted the largest simultaneous viewing audience, probably exceeding one billion viewers.

MacAloon draws attention to this global gathering made possible by television and suggests that "...if this single social fact could be adequately interpreted--that is, interpreted in a way which does not reduce its global intercultural complexities to the perspective of one region or civilization--then we would have a far more compelling understanding of the contemporary 'world system' than we now do."[2] In a similar vein, Kang stresses that the significance of the Olympics lies in the symbolic domain and in the nature of transnational meaning flows associated with the event.[3]

The present research addresses the prominent role of television in the construction and transmission of meanings by comparing telecasts of the Seoul Olympics Opening Ceremony as broadcast in the United States, United Kingdom, and Australia.[4]

One purpose of this study is to describe the extent and dimensions of televised messages about nation, culture, and the Olympics, comparing them across the three broadcast systems. The dialectic of Olympic internationalism versus nationalism is inherent in the Olympic movement and a major theme of scholarly attempts to understand the movement. Dayan and Katz note the duality of an event profoundly rooted in the concept of nation and always to some extent a celebration of the host nation, yet also proof of that nation's commitment to the ethos of internationalism.[5] In Hoberman's analysis the Olympic movement is in permanent crisis because its core doctrine is an "amoral universalism" which strives for global participation at all costs. In practice, the movement

is affected by political conditions in different host cities and tends to assume the moral standards of its political environment.[6]

For all countries which participate, the Olympics are a stage for national and political interests. Despite a history riddled with tragedy, racial defiance, drug scandal, and boycotts, countries have increasingly sought to participate in and host the Olympics since its modern debut in Greece in 1896. The Olympics continue to represent a symbol of both political legitimacy and national prestige in the international arena. And, for newly participating or small nations, they can provide a first introduction to world audiences, as well as a tremendous source of national pride.

From the very inception of its bid to host the 1988 Olympics, the Korean government was explicit in its desire that the Olympics result in international recognition of Korea as an advanced nation and significant world player.[7] Therefore, the televised portrayal of Korea and its culture is central to the present research. The controversy which arose in Korea over "biased" NBC coverage of the Olympics--fueling a wave of anti-American sentiment--underscores the need for careful analysis of television's performance.

The Games were an event both conceived and planned by the international community and then "personalized" by the host nation in what Dayan and Katz, drawing on Goffman, refer to as the "self-presentation of a society."[8] No other medium was as important to this self-presentation as television and perhaps no other Olympic event as important as the Opening Ceremony.

The Seoul Opening Ceremony was meticulously planned with worldwide television in mind. The planning began early, drawing on experience with the 1986 Seoul Asia Games and concluding with four separate dress rehearsals, each before an audience of more than 70,000 in the main Olympic Stadium. The theme of the ceremony, "Beyond All Barriers," was intended to celebrate the Seoul Olympics as an event for all humankind, overcoming religious, racial, social and political differences. To convey the theme, the ceremony began outside the Olympic stadium with a 10-minute Han River Boat parade, symbolizing both the breakdown of barriers between those inside

and outside the stadium and the manner in which rivers naturally break such barriers as walls or mountains on land. Later in the ceremony, an international team of 78 sports parachutists formed the Olympic rings in the air over Seoul and a second time after landing on the field of the stadium, symbolically breaking the barrier between sky and earth. In each case, television viewers had the opportunity to receive a different, more emphatic view of the breaking of barriers than most spectators in the stands who had to rely on the electronic scoreboard at one end of the stadium for television pictures of the events outside.[9] In this way, the Seoul Opening Ceremony was truly a media event.

Despite years of planning and coordination with television rights holders, global television audiences still received a variety of interpretations--or constructions--of the Opening Ceremony. Therefore, a second broad purpose of the study is to explore the manner in which different national broadcast systems shape the television story, given differences in ownership and control, ideology, and cultural environment.

When considering the size of the global television audience for the Opening Ceremony in Seoul one can begin to sense the extraordinary power vested in the host broadcaster (the Korean Broadcasting System and its Seoul Olympics Radio and Television Operations or KBS/SORTO) and the rights-holding broadcasters from around the world who jointly shape the telecast. Accordingly, inquiry into televised constructions of Opening Ceremony addresses not only the concerns of scholars, but also those of policymakers who guide the Olympic project.

In his keynote address to the 1987 Calgary conference on The Olympic Movement and the Mass Media, Kidd stressed the importance of understanding the symbiotic relationship between television and the Olympic movement. As part of the general task of using television to further the Olympic ideal, Kidd proposed that the International Olympic Committee (IOC) require Olympic broadcast rights holders to:

- explain to their viewers the history, philosophy and organization of the Olympic Movement, including the symbolic significance of the Opening and Closing Ceremonies;

- show the Opening and Closing Ceremonies, especially the NOCs' marchpast, without commercial break;

- agree not to break into any Olympic event for a commercial;

- include some coverage of the Olympic arts and culture festival, and the cultural background of the country where the Games are being staged;

- show a minimum of other Olympic events during the remainder of the Olympiad.[10]

Such proposals, as well as the present research, are based on an important assumption undergirding a half century or more of research on images in international relations: that those images and the aural-visual symbols which comprise them bear a strong relationship to cross-cultural understanding and the manner in which nations deal with each other. The present study uses the Seoul Olympics Opening Ceremony as a source of insight into the influence of global media events on international understanding as measured by the instantaneous flow of diverse meanings worldwide.

CONCEPTUAL APPROACH

The conceptual approach treats the Olympic Opening Ceremony as a media-constructed reality. It focuses most explicitly on the images of nation, including culture, and the Olympic movement which are constructed, conveyed and received through the global telecast of the Opening Ceremony. The framework draws from an extensive literature on national image, from frame analysis as applied to the media, and from scholarly work on media events.

National Image

Some of the contemporary study of image can be traced back to Lippmann's 1922 discussion of public opinion and stereotypes ("pictures" in our heads).[11] Although, the concept of image has been used liberally in scholarly work, journalism, and corporate strategy-making, it is a

problematic concept, as evidenced by both the variety of its sources (school, family, media, etc.) and the enigmatic nature of its formation. Boulding suggested that our image of the world is what we believe to be true about our social and physical environment. He said that our images of other nations are based on subjective notions of the geographics, hostility or friendliness, and strengths or weakness of that nation.[12] Scott placed the concept of image within the framework of cognitive theory, suggesting that national image consists of cognitive (beliefs about nations), affective (feelings toward nations), and behavioral aspects (notions of what ought to be done in relation to them). These attributes are influenced by a person's social and psychological self (personality, values, sense of security, etc.). Scott's definition thus becomes "an image of a nation...constitutes the totality of attributes that a person recognizes (or imagines) when he contemplates that nation."[13] This research seeks to identify the attributes--expressed as audio and visual symbols--that television audiences may choose from as building blocks in national image formation.

National Image and International Relations

The post-war era saw both governments and scholars become increasingly interested in national image and its role in the conduct of foreign policy.[14] Crespi, former Chief of the Survey Research Division of the USIA, once summed up this interest by saying, "the United States is concerned with its general prestige in the world and its image as a dynamic and progressive society not out of national vanity but because the effectiveness of our leadership on crucial issues is involved."[15]

Isaacs in his book Images of Asia selected 181 elite respondents from government, business, and finance as the basis of his study of images of China and India in the 1950s and suggested how such images influenced foreign policies of the time.[16] Boulding discussed how perceptions between nations were the realities that produced either friendly or hostile actions. He also identified the powerful role that history plays in the construction of present day images.[17] Stoessinger concentrated on the perceptions and misperceptions of political elites and asserted that their images of other nations directly affect the formulation and conduct of national and

international policy. He identified 13 empirical case studies in which image misperceptions had concrete and specific effects on policy decisions.[18] Jervis has elaborated on this idea to discuss the manipulation of images for the achievement of specific foreign policy goals.[19] These and similar studies contribute to the now accepted proposition that nations communicate based on the images they hold of each other rather than any other "reality." As MacAloon put it: "For good or ill...popular imagery of 'the Others' probably has more influence in social and political action in most places than what academic social scientists produce. If we are to help make popular portraits of other cultures more accurate and comprehensive, we must first know what they are."[20] Central to MacAloon's observation is the question of how global television constructs and conveys images of nation and culture.

The Media as a Conveyor of National Image

Focusing on national images, Perry conducted a study which attempted to show how much students willingly grasp the media as truth--especially when the subject matter is unfamiliar. He discovered that, after only brief media exposure, students readily generalized from a small, inaccurate sample of information about foreign countries dissimilar to their own.[21] Caron's study of first-time television exposure on Inuit children in northern Canada had similar results. He found that the children quickly formulated--and retained--characterizations of other cultural groups based on limited television exposure.[22]

Television, with its combination of audio and visual presentation, is thought to be a particularly powerful and predominant medium for transmitting national images and symbols. At the same time, television is criticized for its inability, or unwillingness, to communicate the complexity and diversity of national cultures--including its own. Instead, television constructs simplified representations of the world in a way that will be easily grasped by its primary audiences. Television is cast in a language of familiar symbols, folktale plots, and national or cosmic myths understandable to all in the audience.[23]

Bennett combines these notions of media as constructing symbolic text and image as influenced by an individual's social and psychological self to state that: "An image is an impression of something that is anchored partly in a symbolic suggestion and partly in the feelings and assumptions that people have in response to that suggestion."[24]

On reviewing the results of this content analysis, it is important to bear in mind this notion of audience "participation" in image construction. The contribution of varying self concepts, values, and levels of interest to the interpretation of what is seen and heard by audiences results in what Edelman refers to as "multiple realities" and constitutes another level of disparity in images in addition to the one being pursued here.[25]

Media Frames

The notion of television as a frame or window on the world is particularly apt for the present study. As explained by Tuchman, the information from an event is restructured to fit into a media frame or window on route to the viewing public; in this view, a telecast is hardly a mirror of an event, but rather a complex construction.[26] Gitlin elaborates on this idea by defining media frames as "persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse." He adds that media frames structure visual and verbal discourse and reflect the dominant ideology--or cultural values--of the audience and power structure at hand.[27] Hall observes that the technical infrastructure, such as the capabilities and limitations of cameras, represents another important element of the framing process. He says that ". . .a 'raw' historical event cannot, in that form, be transmitted by, say, a television newscast. Events can only be signified within the aural-visual forms of the television discourse."[28]

All of this implies that the images an audience sees of other nations or peoples must generally fit within the frame of their cultural system and technological capabilities. In the U.S. the general and

pervasive frame tends to emphasize drama, prominence, proximity, timeliness, human interest, conflict, and oddity. This particular framing process is inextricably linked with a competitive, commercial television structure which places a premium on fast-paced entertainment rather than informational programming.

Such a framing process helps to explain why ABC Sports spent an inordinate amount of air time during the 1988 Winter Olympics following the clumsy and comical escapades of novice ski jumper Eddie "the Eagle" Edwards from Britain (human interest, oddity). It also provides essential context for interpreting why student demonstrations and the potential terrorist threats from communist North Korea (drama, conflict, timeliness) were dominant themes of the pre-Olympics NBC television news narrative about Korea, in contrast to the more broadly based coverage of the print media which also stressed Korea's economic progress.[29]

Although the three networks in the present study are of similar western ideological orientation, they do differ somewhat in their basic structure. The British Broadcasting Corp. (BBC) is a non-commercial broadcaster funded by license fees. Australia's Network TEN (TEN) is a commercial, nationwide network completely dependent on advertising revenues. While NBC is also a commercial network, Australia's regulatory climate places greater restrictions on the number of commercials allowed, placing TEN between BBC and NBC on a non-commercial/commercial scale. All three networks function in a competitive environment, influencing the nature and quality of their programming.

In addition, the three networks were rights-holding broadcasters for the Seoul Olympics giving them exclusive rights to televise the Games to home audiences. The price paid for these rights, however, differed significantly among the broadcasters with NBC paying $302 million, TEN $7 million (US$), and the European Broadcasting Union (EBU), a Western European broadcasters alliance which includes BBC, paid $28 million. NBC was the largest of 18 rights holding broadcast organizations in Seoul, with an accredited staff of supervisors, commentators,

technicians and support personnel numbering 2,154. TEN assembled a staff of 200 and the BBC staff included 155 individuals. (In total, the foreign and domestic holders of broadcast rights assembled 10,360 accredited staff members to televise the Seoul Olympics.)[30] These differences in commercial structure, personnel and financial investment could be expected to influence each telecast in amount of commercial interruption, level of reliance on KBS feed, event and country research, and ability to embellish the telecast using extra cameras, interviews, prepacked segments, specialized graphics, and the like.

The present research addresses the following general questions.

1. How do the production process and network structure shape the presentation of Olympic and national images by broadcasters around the world?

2. How do national telecasts of the Olympic Opening Ceremony differ in the amount and nature of their attention to cultural and national characteristics and symbols?

3. How do national telecasts of the Opening Ceremony differ in the amount and nature of their attention to Olympic symbols and images?

4. Do the telecasts give clues to the international relationships of the broadcasting nation? Does the commentary focus more on allies, trading partners or nations with similar political systems?

5. In particular, how was Korea portrayed to the world, nationally and culturally, throughout the Opening Ceremony telecasts?

The answers to these questions, and others, should help describe how national media systems, as primary transmission lines between cultures, impose their inherent cultural values and ideological agenda on the transcultural communication process and influence our perceptions of others.

METHODS

Sampling

The present study is based on complete Opening Ceremony telecasts by NBC, TEN and the BBC. Data were gathered on important audio and visual dimensions of the broadcasts. Visual content data were sampled by freezing the video frame every 15 seconds throughout each broadcast. For all the visual content categories coded, the sample was sufficiently large to produce stable patterns of occurrence. As Kaplan notes, populations may be viewed as samples in a broad sense. Therefore statistical tests are reported for comparisons of content categories within and across broadcasts.[31]

Units of Analysis

The Seoul Olympic planners designated 25 distinct and successive episodes to occur during the Opening Ceremony. These include such elements as dance and music performances, speeches, the torch lighting, and the entry of the athletes. (See Appendix A.) These episodes or "stories" constitute the basic units of analysis. In addition, there are numerous broadcaster-inserted stories or production units ranging from commercials and newsbreaks to other departures such as interviews or NBC's "Olympic Chronicles" or "Olympics Past" during which time the viewer is taken away from the official ceremony within the Olympic stadium. In essence, these broadcaster-generated segments constitute "stories within stories" and were coded as such. For example:

Story 1 =	Dragon Drum Procession
Story 2 =	Commercial Break
Story 1 contd =	Dragon Drum Procession
Story 3 =	Athlete interview in Broadcast Center
Story 1 contd =	Dragon Drum Procession to completion

Finally, because the research focus is on national images, the broadcaster commentary on each nation during the hour-long "Entry of the Athletes" segment is considered to be a distinct story.

Audio Data

For each story, data were gathered concerning length, the explicit mention of up to three nations and the themes of the audio commentary. For each story up to five themes were coded. If more than five audio themes were discussed, the five most prominent were coded, based on commentary length (from multiple sentences down to a minimum 2-word phrase). Each theme's slant (positive, negative, both positive and negative, or neutral) as determined by manifest commentary was also recorded (e.g. qualitative adjectives "the world's best runner") for reference in descriptive analysis.

Some illustrative examples of audio themes are shown below. For purposes of analysis,the themes were grouped as Olympic, National, Both Olympic and National and Other.

Sample Audio Themes

Olympic themes: Olympic rings, flag, oath taking, dove release, stadium flame.

National themes: population, economic status, literacy rate, cultural distinction, strong sports, specific athletes, team size, government, gender roles, religion.

Both Olympic and National: boycotts, hosting abilities, past athletes, mascot, security.

Other: Commercial/Newsbreak: (no themes coded).

Visual Data

Visual content included symbols and actors categorized as above and the addition of the following production groupings: visual distance (close up, medium shot, etc.), visual location (inside stadium, on location, etc.), and graphics. Unlike the audio data, the visual data are a sample derived by freezing the frame every 15 seconds (with a minimum one per story) throughout the broadcast and recording various elements in the picture.

Inter-Coder Reliability

All coding was done by the authors. A reliability test conducted on 7% of each of two broadcasts (or 4.5% of the total 11 hours broadcast time) yielded an observed agreement of 93% for story identification, 100% for primary country mention, 93% for subsequent country mentions, 74% for audio themes, and 92% for all visual categories.

RESULTS

Both the Seoul Olympic Opening Ceremony itself and all national telecasts of the event consist of a sequence of stories which form a planned narrative. The three major components of the ceremony as planned by the event organizers were 1) the obligatory Olympic rituals and gestures as defined by the Olympic Charter, 2) the Entry/Exit of the Athletes, and 3) cultural performances including music, dance and demonstrations. The international feed provided by the host broadcaster, KBS/SORTO, covered all episodes of the ceremony in their entirety. Individual national broadcasters made selections from the international feed and interrupted or supplemented it with broadcaster-generated segments consisting primarily of commercials, newsbreaks and background reports or interviews to create their own narrative structures.

Considering again the questions raised earlier we can begin to make some comparative statements about the telecasts.

> **1. How do the production process and network structure shape the presentation of Olympic and national images by broadcasters around the world?**

Story length in the three telecasts ranged from 3 seconds to 14 minutes, 30 seconds, with the mean for all broadcasts at 1 minute, 26 seconds. The shortest stories occurred during the Entry of the Athletes, averaging 37 seconds, and the longest were cultural performances which averaged 4 minutes, 49 seconds in length across the three broadcasts. Stories involving the Olympic rituals averaged 3 minutes, 34 seconds in length.

The BBC carried a total of 161 stories during its 3 hour, 33 minute broadcast, NBC totalled 150 stories in a 4 hour broadcast, and Australia's TEN had 146 stories in a 3 hour, 22 minute broadcast. BBC's higher frequency of stories, despite a shorter broadcast than NBC, results from the network's uninterrupted coverage of the Entry of the Athletes where each nation discussed constituted a distinct story. The varying lengths of the network broadcasts result from interviews and commentator discussion added before or immediately after the official ceremony. In the cases of BBC and NBC this also included a 9 1/2 and 14 1/2 minute film montage to open their respective telecasts.

Although all broadcasters used the international feed provided by KBS as host broadcaster, each selected and edited the available pictures differently. Both NBC and BBC supplemented the KBS feed with footage from their own cameras (NBC had 5 extra cameras; BBC, 3 extra) at the Opening Ceremony; all broadcasters provided their own audio commentary. The overall structure of each telecast is indicated in Figure 1 below, showing the percentage of time each broadcaster devoted to the major types of stories, both broadcaster-supplied and from the ceremony itself.

Figure 1 about here

There were notable differences among the three broadcasts in the type, number and pattern of departures from coverage of the actual ceremony as it unfolded. The major types of interruption were [1] commercials, [2] newsbreaks (NBC only), and [3] interviews and background pieces. The latter two categories are grouped together in Figure 1 as "Features, News." The presence or absence of commercial breaks or broadcaster-supplied supplements to the official ceremony clearly influences the structure of each telecast.

Generally, the departures and additions mirrored the commercial obligations of the three broadcast systems. The total BBC telecast, without commercial commitments, included only five breaks for interviews and commentary, averaging 3 minutes, 50 seconds in length. The TEN telecast included 13 commercial breaks averaging 1 minute, 47 seconds in duration and four breaks for interviews which averaged 2 minutes, 10 seconds in length. NBC's telecast included 25 commercial breaks with an average length of 2 minutes, 4 seconds and 21 newsbreaks,"Olympic Chronicles" or other background pieces averaging 3 minutes, 3 seconds in length. NBC's frequent changes of venue continued throughout its coverage of the Seoul Olympics, leading to widespread press commentary and criticism in the United States. For example, the Wall Street Journal called NBC's overall Olympic coverage "fragmented and shifty" with a level of "commercial clutter [that] seems greater than in previous Olympic broadcasts."[32]

The pattern of interruptions in coverage of the actual ceremony is another dimension of interest. To accommodate commercial, news and other breaks, NBC cut heavily into its potential coverage of both cultural performances and the entry of the athletes. TEN made room for its breaks by cutting primarily from the entry of the athletes and, as noted, the BBC carried virtually the entire 3 1/4 hour ceremony with just one 45-second break to interview a British athlete (other interviews took place before it began).

Figure 2 shows how much time, in seconds, the broadcasters devoted to each of the three major components of the planned ceremony: 1) Olympic ritual and gestures, 2) the Entry/Exit of the Athletes, and 3) cultural performances. The comprehensive nature of the BBC broadcast makes it a useful baseline for comparison with the other two networks.

Figure 2 about here

The disparity among broadcasters in the amount of time spent on the official ceremony is obvious; only coverage of the Olympic rituals common to every Opening Ceremony is consistent across broadcasts. When considering Korea's national image, one significant difference is the amount of time NBC spent away from the cultural performances--most of which displayed Korean culture in music, dance, costume, and narrative. NBC visited each cultural performance episode for a mean time of 3 minutes, 34 seconds, the lowest among broadcasters. In fact, NBC skipped two cultural performance episodes altogether (Han River Boat Parade; Heaven, Earth and Man -- See Appendix A). TEN's mean was 5 minutes, 7 seconds, BBC's was 5 minutes, 40 seconds. It could be said that NBC's frequent pattern of interruptions might prevent television audiences from becoming engaged in the Korean cultural narrative that flowed through all the performances. While each episode had a particular cultural theme, when woven together the performances became a critique of modern times which, at their narrative climax, challenged the world to transcend global strife, moving "Beyond all Barriers" to find harmony through the philosophy of the yin and the yang.

On the other hand, NBC offered a higher frequency (17 stories, compared to BBC with 5 and TEN with 4) of interviews and pre-packaged segments to its viewers. NBC's "Olympic Chronicles" and "Olympics Past" were 3-4 minute segments shown throughout the Olympics. Topics ranged from close-ups on particular athletes to aspects of life in South Korea. During the Opening Ceremony one "Olympic Chronicle" dealt with North Korea and one "Olympics Past" segment told the story of Sohn Kee Chung, the gold medal marathon runner in the 1936 Olympics and Korean hero. Generally, the segments provided glimpses of Korea outside the Olympic stadium.

Dayan and Katz would describe such stories as offering television viewers cultural continuity or depth, a dimension of knowledge about the event not available to direct spectators.[33] NBC's "Olympics Past" segment tracing the experience of Sohn Kee Chung is an excellent example. Because Korea was under Japanese colonial rule at the time of the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games, Sohn was forced to compete with a Japanese name and uniform, painfully receiving his medal

while the Japanese national anthem played. His victory was a bittersweet moment for Koreans who have since tried, without success, to get his name and nationality corrected in the official Olympic annals.[34] Viewers of the NBC telecast were told this story, complete with film footage of Sohn's 1936 marathon victory and the medal ceremony, accompanied by his comments and reminiscences. Hence, when he carried the torch into the Seoul Olympic stadium, they arguably had a more profound sense, along with Koreans, of the symbolic shattering of any traces of national disgrace associated with the earlier experience.

Visually, the production patterns of the three broadcasters were quite similar, owing principally to the common use of a single international feed provided by the host broadcaster. The following tables show both this overall visual consistency and several exceptions to it. As shown in Table 1, based on data from only the ceremony proper, one exception was the different frequency with which the broadcasts included close-up versus medium length camera shots. This difference occurs most markedly during the Entry of the Athletes and cultural performances.

TABLE 1

Camera Distance by Broadcast

	Close %	Medium %	Long %	Pan %	N(frames)
TEN	37.8	44.1	17.5	0.6	653
BBC	49.3	32.1	17.2	1.5	745
NBC	33.7	45.0	18.7	2.6	498

Chi-Square=45.92658 df=6 $p < .001$

TABLE 2

Camera Location by Broadcast

	Stadium	Broadcast Center	On Location	Film/ Graphic	Other	
	%	%	%	%	%	N
TEN	92.5	0.1	4.6	0.3	2.4	695
BBC	86.7	0.6	4.4	6.8	1.9	822
NBC	72.7	4.0	6.2	10.8	6.3	725

Chi-Square=165.88918 df=10 $p < .001$

Table 2, based on all visual data with the exception of commercial breaks, shows that camera location is another difference in the visual character of the three telecasts. (Note that "Broadcast Center" refers to both the International Broadcast Center and other remote studios such as the NBC "Pagoda" but not to broadcast booths in the main Olympic Stadium.). The higher percentages under Film/Graphic for BBC and NBC are due to an introductory film montage at the beginning of each telecast which surveyed Olympic history through photo stills and film clips. According to Dayan and Katz this "flashback" technique transforms television spectators into "instant connoisseurs" to allow for better participation in the upcoming event."[35]

NBC made frequent forays to its broadcast center and other locations in and outside the stadium, supplementing the international feed with its own video materials in the form of film or graphics. In addition, NBC allowed its commentators, as well as several athletes, to be visual actors, conversing with each other in and out of the stadium throughout the broadcast. This type of "personalization" is a well known characteristic of U.S. commercial television.

It could be said that this predictable style and structure of NBC's coverage unwittingly contributed to the disorderly behavior of American athletes during the Entry of the Athletes. Journalists, scholars and other observers have offered considerable commentary on the fact that many of the athletes fell out of formation and spilled over from the track onto the grassy inner and other areas of the field. This was in stark contrast to the orderly procession of teams from the other 159 participating nations. NBC conducted on-the-field interviews, including video close ups, with U.S. athletes Mary T. Meagher and Carl Lewis via remote microphones. NBC also televised glimpses of several homemade cloth signs carried by American athletes (e.g., "Hi Mom! Send Won," "Hi Mom. I'm Here," and another mentioning "NBC" and the "USA"). This close up, personalized coverage encouraged athletes to drop out of formation and gather in groups around on-field cameras in order to wave to friends and family at home. In short, the American athletes, by bringing signs and gravitating toward cameras, and television personnel, by obliging such maneuvers, showed that they shared certain cultural norms attendant to television broadcasting in the U.S.--norms which, if shared by those from other nations, were not considered appropriate to the Olympic Opening Ceremony.[36] Moreover, by conveying a lack of respect for the ceremony they violated the Korean cultural norm that the guest does not do anything to offend or insult the host. The Opening Ceremony behavior of the American athletes was one factor contributing to increased anti-American sentiment among the Korean public during the Seoul Olympics.

In sum, the level of commercial infiltration, financial commitment to the Olympics, as well as cultural norms do result in a different broadcast structures. Despite covering the same length event as TEN and BBC, the NBC broadcast seemed faster paced and more carefully packaged as the audience is taken from stadium to broadcast center to commercial to film "Chronicle" and back to the stadium again. While also dependent on advertising revenues TEN, by some combination of regulatory constraints, financial limitations, and editorial decision-making, focuses primarily on the ceremony itself. In this way, the TEN and BBC broadcasts resemble each other much more closely than TEN and NBC--the two commercial networks.

2. How do national telecasts of the Olympic Opening Ceremony differ in the amount and nature of their attention to cultural and national characteristics and symbols?

3. How do national telecasts of the Opening Ceremony differ in the amount and nature of their attention to Olympic symbols and images?

These research questions need to be answered in terms of the entire television message, but for analytical purposes it is helpful to discuss first the audio commentary and then visual elements in turn. Figure 3 shows the extent to which the audio commentary on the three telecasts dealt with Olympic, national and combined themes.

Figure 3 about here

The audio theme discussion of Olympic symbols and images was highly consistent across the broadcasts, although TEN commentators, in their enthusiasm, spoke more lavishly about Olympic goals and spirit. This observation is consistent with Australia's reputation as an ardent supporter of the Olympic movement; the nation is one of only three which has attended every Olympic Games of the modern era.

In addition to independent network research, a variety of media aids were distributed to press and broadcast personnel. For the Opening Ceremony, broadcasters received a guide document "Scenario for the Opening and Closing Ceremonies" which provided an optional script for broadcasters as well as in-depth explanatory notes concerning Korean cultural and historical significance and Olympic meaning for all segments of the ceremony. While none of the three broadcasters read the suggested script verbatim all paraphrased cultural detail or historical facts from the text (the script was in written in flowery language largely avoided in western broadcasts: "The Han River flows serenely--a nurturing source of Korea's economic miracle. The Miracle on the Han--a household word heard around the world").[37]

For example, during the Dragon Drum (Yong-ko) Procession to the World Tree, a 4-minute cultural performance, the SLOOC text provided approximately 25 distinct insights or facts about the performance, ranging from the height and design of the drum and World Tree to their significance in ancient Oriental cosmology and application to modern Olympic ideology. The BBC, most closely following the lyrical tone of the SLOOC script, mentioned eight of the 25 possible comments. NBC also mentioned eight of the 25 (not all the same), but in a much less poetic and more informational manner. TEN mentioned six and added other informal commentary about the amount of planning and size of the overall ceremony. To compare the different paraphrasing techniques and commentary language used, when the Dragon Drum procession reached its destination across the stadium field to the World Tree (which then releases a large red ball--the sun--into the sky, with accompanying fireworks and balloons, and transforms into the Olympic cauldron), each broadcaster ended the performance segment with the following commentary: (See footnote for SLOOC document text.)[38]

BBC: "The Dragon Drum approaches the World Tree awaiting the image of the first sunrise, a link between heaven and earth...[silence]...This a vision of the beginning of time, the dawn of a universe, and the first sunrise...[silence] (release of the red ball, fireworks) The sun rises, the fireworks explode in celebration reaching to heaven."

TEN: "And there's the World Tree. It's the first time in Olympic history that the Olympic cauldron is being used as a prop in the Opening Ceremony. [other announcer] Yes, the Cosmic Tree as they call it...[silence] (ball rises, fireworks) [They] let balloons go to a rousing display of firecrackers. Soon the flame will be lit to warm the world for the next 16 days and tell us the 24th Olympiad has arrived."

NBC: "The cauldron is 70 feet high and designed after a traditional Korean candlestick. (silence) The silence of the crowd is deafening. Keep your eye on the Tree." (ball rises, fireworks). [Cut to newsbreak on Hurricane Gilbert]

During the Flower Crown Dance (or Hwagwan Dance), a traditional Korean court dance, the BBC pulled seven of about 15 possible contextual comments from the SLOOC document and TEN

explained at least 10 of 15 cultural aspects of the performance. Both BBC and TEN included details about costumes, some historical background, and the purpose of the dance in the context of the Opening Ceremony narrative (to calm the audience before the next segment called Chaos). Bryant Gumbel, after NBC missed the beginning of the dance due to a commercial break, simply explained this was "a performance designed to showcase the beauty of Korea's traditional arts and culture" then the network cut to an interview with Chris Evert Mills outside the stadium, followed by a commercial break, spending only 26 seconds on the nearly 7 minute performance.

The Entry of the Athletes is a one-hour segment of the Opening Ceremony which introduces all the participating nations. Athletes march in procession behind their national flag, offering commentators an opportunity to reinforce images and/or add to audience perceptions of these nations. The nations, especially those with small teams, enter quickly allowing for only brief mention. In fact, the mean story length during the Entry of Athletes was only 37 seconds across all broadcasts--only enough time for a few sentences.

As indicated in Figure 2 NBC spent less time on the Entry of the Athletes than did the other networks. Consequently, the number of country stories (remembering that each country introduced by a commentator is a story) for NBC is significantly less with 83 total as opposed to 105 for TEN and 133 for BBC out of a total 160 participating nations.

When countries were introduced, the commentators on all three telecasts relied on a pattern of audio themes, usually mentioning the size of the team, number of medals won in previous games, identity of the flagbearer, or notable athletes. There were, however, a few interesting idiosyncrasies. The most common BBC audio theme was concerned with what the athletes were wearing ("sky blue traditional dress," "striking orange and yellow tracksuits," "smart blue blazers and braces") despite the fact audiences could easily observe all described features of the athletes' uniform on a color telecast (see Table 3). The TEN commentators were most concerned with a nation's history of Olympic participation, not failing to mention, of course, that Australia is one of

only three nations to have attended all Olympic Games. Whether because of its reliance on the KBS feed, its seemingly remote global location, or both, the TEN telecast also spent considerable attention to "educating" its home audience about participating nations. TEN commentators provided nea ly three times as much general country information and history (country location, size, population, historical events, date of independence) as did NBC or BBC. They also attempted to distinguish or characterize nations--sometimes with quite sweeping generalizations. A selection of their comments include:

- Oman is probably the "hottest nation in the world"
- Guam is "known for beaches and coconut palms"
- "In East Germany there are no free rides, either shape up or ship out"
- Mexico is "one of the most highly emotional countries in the world"
- Mongolia is "one of the most mysterious countries in the world."
- Jamaicans are "such beautiful people"
- Americans are "cool cats," "superstars," from "the most famous of all Olympic nations"
- Burkino Faso is "one of the poorest countries in the world"
- Mauritania: "no wonder they haven't won any medals with 90% of the population in sub-Saharan climate"
- Guyana, "site of the Georgetown massacre"
- Sri Lanka, "formerly Ceylon" conjures up "memories of tea and cricket"
- Singapore, a "popular holiday shopping stopover for Aussies"
- Ireland, the "home of the leprechaun and four leaf clover"
- Japan, once occupied Korea but the countries are now "making their peace"
- Zaire, remembered for the 1974 "Rumble in the Jungle" Ali and Frazer boxing match
- Central Africa is "one of the most thinly populated countries in the world"
- Canada is "massive" and "relaxed"
- Hong Kong is "one of the biggest tourist destinations in the world"
- New Zealanders are "cousins" and "good friends"
- Monaco is "one of the most famous little countries in the world" with the athletes looking "suave and smooth like you'd expect from the French Riviera"
- Bolivia, a land of "soaring peaks, breathtaking lakes and rivers"
- USSR, a sport "superpower" who will "battle the U.S. for gold"

Comments similar to these as well as less distinctive comments such as Brazil as "a great sport nation," Qatar "a very small Arab nation," or sensing the "cool of Iceland" constituted nearly 9% of TEN's overall commentary.

In contrast to this and to ABC's coverage of the Calgary Winter Olympics when Peter Jennings offered several similar generalizations, NBC mostly refrained from this type of generalizing except to note some specific facts or reactions such as women don't vote in Kuwait, the Liberian flag is a

descendent of the U.S. flag, Mexico is "our friend," and that Lebanon is "torn by so much strife and violence." With more Olympic-minded enthusiasm, NBC also noted that Lebanon's team consisted of both Christian and Moslem athletes, suggested that Ireland was "making a statement" by having a protestant flagbearer, and marveled at the Olympics as "a microcosm of the world's people." NBC's informative reaction to the colorful, traditional attire of the Ghana athletes was "and you thought Flo Jo had some outfits!"

The BBC, also limited its use of sweeping generalizations, did venture to suggest that Burma is a "troubled" nation and to note that Lebanon is so poor from "war conditions" that a Saudi Arabian businessman paid for its team to come to Seoul. Otherwise, BBC commentators held to mild, single adjective characterizations for a handful of national teams. For example, the USSR's team was "mighty," the GDR team was "powerful," and China was a "growing" sports strength.

All broadcasters made special note of teams without women, and in the case of Iran they remarked that it was the only team which refused to follow behind the Korean woman assigned to carry its country name plaque. Instead, a young Korean man was substituted.

Beyond the Entry of the Athletes all networks engaged in discussion of prior Olympic Games, Olympic trivia and history (especially medals won), explanations of the performance in terms of Korean culture, description of what's happening on the field, and other general themes. NBC, however, was alone in repeatedly "previewing" what was to come--clearly in an effort to encourage viewers to return after the frequent commercial breaks. Overall, themes pertaining to nations versus Olympic themes predominated as indicated in Table 3.

TABLE 3

Top Ten Audio Themes by Broadcast

TEN
Rank (N=492)
1) history of participation (11.5%)
2) country statistics (8.5%)
3) # of medals won (8.5%)
4) team size (7.5%)
5) national distinction (6.5%)
6) notable athlete(s) (6.3%)
7) strong sports (5.5%)
8) athlete uniforms (4.0%)
9) Korean culture, history (3.6%)
10) historical event (3.4%)

BBC
(N=464)
athlete uniforms (14.9%)
identify flagbearer (12.3%)
team size (10.8%)
history of participation (6.7%)
# of medals won (6.0%)
team characterization (5.0%)
description of ceremony (4.7%)
notable athletes (4.1%)
national distinction (3.9%)
prior Olympic Games (3.4%)

NBC
Rank (N=381)
1) identify flagbearer (11.3%)
2) team size (6.8%)
3) notable athletes (6.8%)
4) # of medals won (6.3%)
5) Olympic trivia (3.9%)
6) Korean culture, history (3.9%)
7) national distinction (3.7%)
8) team characterization (3.1%)
9) prior Olympic Games (2.9%)
10) political relations (2.9%)

The Australian commentary seemed to be couched in much more slanted--that is, enthusiastic--terminology, than that of NBC or BBC, using words such as "brilliant," "fantastic," "magnificent" without restraint or phrases such as "the best marathon runner to ever live" throughout its broadcast to describe all aspects of the ceremony, host nation, and participating athletes. This type of positive slant is very much in line with the Dayan and Katz discussion of televised ceremonial events and the sort of "cosmic lyricism" or reverent tone the narrator's voice takes on during a ceremonial event.[39]

Figure 4 about here

Figure 4 confirms that visual symbols of nation and culture, ranging from national flags to traditional Korean costumes, are prominent in the Opening Ceremony telecasts. This corresponds to the emphasis in the audio commentary but is less pronounced. Symbols such as the Olympic rings, flag, or flame were shown to viewers far more than they were discussed by commentators; they were pervasive elements in the visual landscape, whether part of a performance, painted on the stadium, or towering in the sky. In fact, they provided a dominant visual motif throughout all three broadcasts.

Within the general pattern, there were notable differences across the three broadcasts. The TEN telecast carried more Olympic symbols than either of the other two broadcasts. One plausible explanation is that the KBS feed on which TEN depended exclusively was heavy on Olympic symbols. BBC and NBC, editing in footage from their additional cameras, may have slightly diluted the display of Olympic symbols.

Those visual symbols most universally associated with the Olympics (the Olympic rings, flag, flame, doves and lighters of the flame) appeared in 31.9% of the visual frames on TEN [N=698], 22% of the frames for BBC [N=823] and 21% of the frames on NBC [N=696]. The Olympic rings and stadium flame (once lit) were clear favorites among them all in part because the Olympic rings form part of the Olympic flag and were also widely displayed on the sides of the main Olympic Stadium.

Graphics also offered audiences country information. The KBS feed superimposed graphics displaying a nation's name, national flag, and offering basic team or country data as each team marched in. Each broadcaster could choose and tailor the graphics data to fit its particular needs. BBC and TEN chose to do so in the most consistent pattern, usually indicating the size of the team. NBC offered a greater mix of graphics data, including the flagbearer's name, country size or location, population, or a political fact such as Chinese Taipei noted as "known as Taiwan."

Thinking back to Scott's discussion of cognitive, affective, and behavioral aspects of image, the majority of audio and visual themes concerning nations fall into the cognitive realm, facts about location, geography, population, team size, flags, or national uniforms. However, the mention of certain historical "facts" (Munich and Mexico City Olympic tragedies, Korean war, Japanese occupation, colonial history, an Olympic boycott, the Georgetown massacre) may conjure up a variety of feelings (affective aspects) about nations in certain segments of a national audience, reinforcing, for example, long held images of Japan as aggressors or African nations as unfit for self rule.

Some comments also convey ideology. While the three white male-dominated capitalist societies which are home to BBC, NBC, and TEN don't allow for easy ideological comparison with each other, clues to similarities in their ideological systems are apparent. Contrast the following series of comments with what might have been provided by commentators from any black African nation. For example, TEN commentators recalled a 1984 Olympics "highlight" when a runner from Equatorial Guinea didn't know he had to run in lanes or remarked that the "Union Jack is the most famous flag in the world." The BBC commentators enjoyed the story about the Malawi team that brought "can you believe it--street bicycles" to compete in the Seoul Olympics cycling events. NBC commented on the marathon runner from Djibouti who "doesn't even know when he was born" or on the Korean "underdogs who have accomplished so much" through their admirable work ethic. Such comments are grounded in attitudes of racial superiority which comprise part of the ideological systems of these three nations.

4. Do the telecasts give clues to the international relationships of the broadcasting nation? Does the commentary focus more on allies, trading partners, or nations with similar political systems?

As shown in Table 4, South Korea was by far the most frequently mentioned country by commentators on the three telecasts, and while such mentions were slightly more frequent during the cultural performance segments of the ceremony, they pervaded all three broadcasts. These data

underscore the effectiveness of the Opening Ceremony as a vehicle for the host city and nation of the Olympics to assume its moment in the spotlight.

The three broadcasting organizations all referred to their nation of origin more frequently than to others in the world. NBC mentioned the USA 21 times and TEN brought Australia into the discussion 20 times. The BBC, however, was more restrained and only mentioned its homeland 7 times.

The appearance of Japan and the U.S.S.R. among the most frequently mentioned nations may be a reflection of geopolitical and economic power as well as athletic strength. The historical conflicts--and perceived present day rivalry--between Japan and Korea also contributed to frequent mentions of Japan. In general, the frequency with which nations were mentioned was highly skewed toward a small group of athletically or economically powerful nations. Considering all three telecasts together, only 20 countries received three or more mentions. This finding corresponds to the widely documented pattern of international affairs coverage in Western print and broadcast media, except that the focus is even more narrowly fixed on a very small group of nations. For most smaller island nations, nations of Africa, Latin America and South Asia, the Opening Ceremony affords television viewers of the world at most a fleeting glimpse.

Across all three telecasts, more than three-quarters of all explicit mentions of nations occurred during the Entry of the Athletes. All networks made note of their geographic neighbors and former colonial relations as they marched in (while the other networks skipped several of those countries). TEN did not bother to mention North Korea at all (as opposed to NBC's 6 mentions). NBC was far ahead in its mentions of Korea possibly corresponding to its closer political and economic ties to the country. NBC alone bothered to mention all boycotting nations. It also noted those U.S. allies which participated in the Korean and Vietnam wars. In addition to the multiple country mentions displayed in Table 4, there were also numerous countries mentioned twice by each broadcaster.

TABLE 4

Multiple Country Mentions by Broadcast

TEN	BBC	NBC
South Korea (31)	South Korea (30)	South Korea (41)
Australia (20)	U.K. (7)	U.S.A. (21)
U.S.A. (9)	U.S.A. (4)	U.S.S.R. (6)
U.S.S.R.(5)	U.S.S.R. (4)	North Korea (6)
Greece (4)	Japan (3)	Japan (3)
Japan (3)		Spain (3)*
China (3)		Thailand (3)**
U.K. (3)		

* Spain is home to both IOC president Juan Antonio Samaranch and the 1992 Summer Games.

** NBC commentators engaged in a running joke about Miss Universe from Thailand. In a departure from Olympic rules, she marched in with the Thai delegation.

5. In particular, how was Korea portrayed to the world, nationally and culturally, throughout the Opening Ceremony telecasts?

Coverage of Korea was examined through analysis of those themes in the audio commentary and those visual symbols that referred primarily to Korea or its culture. These included major elements of the cultural performances such as traditional Korean musical instruments, costumes, the tiger cub mascot, "Hodori" and the Seoul Olympic emblem.

Although visual content relating to Korea permeated all telecasts, it was most prominent during the various cultural performances. Considering all portions of the telecasts except commercials and newsbreaks NBC carried the highest proportion of Korea-specific visuals, although in absolute terms the BBC had more. NBC's foreshortened coverage of both cultural ceremonies and the entry of the athletes contributed to this higher proportion.

The heaviest concentration of audio commentary on Korea occurred during the cultural episodes of the ceremony. NBC carried both the highest proportion and the highest number of Korea-related

themes, accounting for 18.4% of all its audio themes [N=381]. In the TEN broadcast, 11.4% of all audio themes dealt with Korea [N=492] and on BBC the proportion was 8.6% [N=464].

A more qualitative look reveals that the following audio themes were discussed by all broadcasters.

- the Korean War
- Korea's "economic miracle" accomplished in just 35 years
- Japanese occupation
- Korea's hospitality and courtesy as Olympic host
- Korea's desire for better international relations (specifically mentioning Hungary and China) as a result of the Olympics
- Korean national pride in staging such an event
- how much time and money Korea spent preparing for the Seoul Olympics

Where the broadcasters depart from each other may be best described as their attention to traditional or modern Korea. With more time spent broadcasting the cultural performances, BBC and TEN, accordingly, spent more time discussing traditional Korean culture and history as described in their media guides. Both mention Korea's "rich appreciation for history" and "5,000 year history." Although TEN commentators openly admitted it's sometimes "difficult to understand Korean culture" they attempted to explain the event in Korean terms.

NBC offered more glimpses of modern Korea, good and bad, both visually through pans of modern Seoul and with brief, audio tidbits on current issues, including present day North-South tensions, new trade relations, political changes, and the recent wave of anti-Americanism. In other areas, NBC commentators lauded Korea's respect for education and 98% literacy rate, mentioning that educational achievement was a criteria for students being chosen to perform in the Opening Ceremony. Given the close political and economic ties the U.S. shares with Korea it is not surprising that Korea's political changes toward democracy and economic success are mentioned. Given the large U.S. military presence in Korea, it is also not surprising that North-South tensions are mentioned. Accordingly, some Korean critics of NBC's coverage of the Olympics were not pleased that the first "Olympic Chronicle" shown was on North Korea, bringing attention to issues such as divided families and showing footage of the DMZ. Although some dissidents may have

been pleased with the coverage, it was not the kind of public relations spotlight the South Korean government sought.

Overall, Korea was presented in a positive light by all networks; it appeared as a modern country rapidly making changes in an effort to be a global player ("Korea is looking its best"--NBC) and capable of putting on a great show ("Korea's largest party ever"--TEN).

CONCLUSIONS

Findings from the preceding analysis bear on several of the major questions introduced at the outset. First, all of the Opening Ceremony telecasts conveyed a dual emphasis on both nation and Olympic-style internationalism. Themes and symbols of nations predominated in the audio commentary of the three broadcasts, with the heaviest emphasis on a small group of mostly economically developed or athletically powerful nations. In terms of national image, a heavy reliance on statistics and sports trivia --from team size to medals won-- paints a portrait of national strength based on athletic success (as well as western broadcasters' predilection for "stats"). Similarly, mentions of boycotting nations, war allies or former colonial relations situate other nations in the world system relative to the broadcasting nation. More so than the audio commentary, it was the visual portion of the broadcasts that filled television screens with the familiar Olympic symbols of internationalism and goodwill. The Olympic rings, one of the most widely recognized logotypes in the world, were everywhere and liberally featured in the KBS feed as evidenced in TEN's coverage.

A second general finding was that the three broadcast systems offered viewers different constructions of the Seoul Opening Ceremony. At one extreme, frequent commercial intrusions and pre-packaged broadcast segments resulted in a fast-paced, well planned (albeit fragmented) NBC telecast. The on-camera participation of commentators and athletes also served to personalize the telecast. However, to accommodate such a style of coverage, NBC cut potential coverage of

both cultural ceremonies and the Entry of the Athletes, and in the case of the U.S. delegation's entrance, the network actually contributed to the disruption of the ceremony itself.

At the other extreme, the non-commercial BBC, with virtually no interruptions, relied on the event itself to hold viewers and produce meaning, using commentary primarily to embellish upon the activity in the stadium. In this way, it could be said that BBC better served the intent of the Seoul Olympic organizers. TEN, breaking for commercials about every 15 minutes, also relied on the event itself to interest audiences, so its telecast was much more akin to BBC's coverage.

The disparities between the NBC and BBC telecasts, for example, raise an important policy issue. When not on a commercial or news break, NBC did offer viewers supplemental segments, produced at great expense, about Korea. Added to these features, network transitions to and from commercial breaks generally consisted of visual pans of Seoul, Korea's people and its landscape. These features and visual transitions inserted into the Opening Ceremony can be argued, on balance, to have provided U.S. viewers with an understanding of Korea as a modern nation in a way the BBC and TEN telecasts did not. Simply by presenting the story of Sohn Kee Chung before he entered the stadium with the Olympic torch--a moment of symbolic triumph for Koreans--NBC offered its television audience privileged insights into Korea's character and history.

If such features are considered positive contributions to the Opening Ceremony and understanding of the host nation, then it is a policy question as to whether large rights holders should be required to share them with broadcasters lacking the same financial resources or to pool their efforts to produce them for a global audience. On the other hand, it's a question of whether broadcasters such as BBC or TEN would want--or the IOC should allow--interruptions to the Opening Ceremony beyond what is minimally necessary.

Finally, despite varied constructions and interpretations of the ceremony Korea's overall image portrayal across all three Opening Ceremony telecasts was positive. As mentioned, NBC provided the broadest range of visual and audio images--from the DMZ to ceremony performances. The

BBC and TEN gave audiences more of a feeling for the traditional meanings imbedded in the ceremony itself, although their commentators did not hesitate to discuss Korea's role and aspirations in the modern world system. TEN, in particular, was effusive in its praise of the host nation. Even so, the Olympics do not occur in a vacuum. In the U.S., for example, there was tremendous pre-Olympics media build up covering student demonstrations, gauging the possibility of terrorist threat, as well as anticipating the upcoming athletic competition--all lingering images of Korea.

Taken together, the empirical evidence presented in this paper provides strong confirmation that television constructs the Olympic spectacle into multiple realities and that it does so with profound implications for images of nation, culture and the Olympic movement. The analysis tells us not only about the construction of a global media event but, by extension, about the contemporary world system it represents.

APPENDIX A

Story Units in the Opening Ceremony Telecasts
(times are approximate)

B Pre-Boat Parade (not official ceremony).
C 1 = Han River Boat Parade (10 minutes).
Greeting the Sun (4 distinct parts, 20 minutes total)
C 2 = Part 1: Passage at Dawn (4 min.) farm music band.
C 3 = Part 2: Dragon Drum Procession (4 min.) Dragon Drum enters and is carried to "World Tree".
C 4 = Part 3: Heaven, Earth & Man (4 min.) Korean and Greek nymphs.
C 5 = Part 4: The Light of Genesis (6 min.) 1500 modern dancers enter, spell "Welcome".
O 6 = Olympic Fanfare (1 min.). Trumpeters play, MC announces opening.
O 7 = Introduction and Entry of President Roh Tae Woo and wife (1 min.).
C 8 = O-So-O-Se-Yo (5 min.) modern dancers form Korean "Welcome," emblem.
O 9. Entry of the Athletes (60 min. total, multiple parts)
O 10 = Speech by Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee President Park Seh-jik (2 min.).
O 11 = Welcoming Address of the International Olympic Committee IOC President Juan Antonio Samaranch (2 min.).
O 12 = Opening Declaration by President Roh Tae Woo (2 min.).
O 13 = Hoisting of the Olympic Flag, dove release (8 min.).
O 14 = Lighting of the Sacred Flame (5 min.) from runner to lighting.
O 15 = Olympic Oaths (5 min.). Athletes and judges take oath.
O 16 = Korean National Anthem (2 min.).
O 17 = Athletes' Departure (15 min.).
A Great Day (2 parts, 12 min. total)
C 18 = Part 1: Prayer of Blessing and Cha Il Dance (7 min.). 800 dancers on the field, parachutists form Olympic rings.
C 19 = Part 2: Hwagwan Dance (5 min.). Flower crown dance 1500 women.
C 20 = Chaos (5 min.) totem poles and international masks.
C 21 = Beyond All Barriers (5 min.) Taekwondo demonstration.
C 22 = Silence (1 min.) child with silver hoop runs across field.
C 23 = New Sprouts (5 min.) children enter and play games.
C 24 = Harmony (7 min.) Konori folk game is played.
C 25 = One World (Hanmadang) (7 min.s) mascots, sing Hand-in-Hand.
B 26 = Commercials
B 27 = Newsbreak
B 28 = Olympic Chronicle (NBC)
B 29 = Olympic Past (NBC)
B 30 = Commentator on location or in broadcast center
B 31 = Interviews, live shots and/or film (but not a Chronicle).
B 32 = After the close of the ceremony.

O = Olympic Ritual
C = Cultural Performance
B = Broadcaster added segment

Figure 1

Time Structure of Telecasts

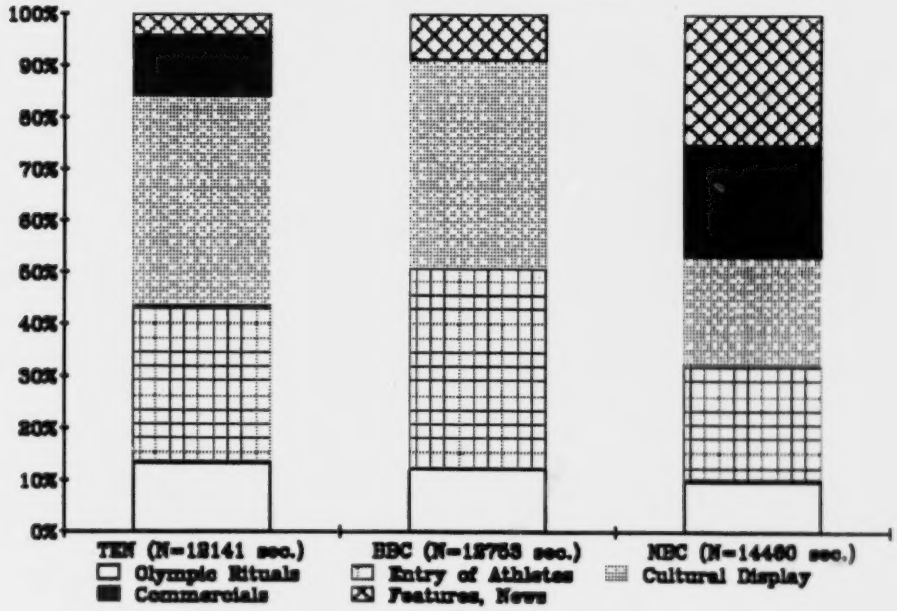
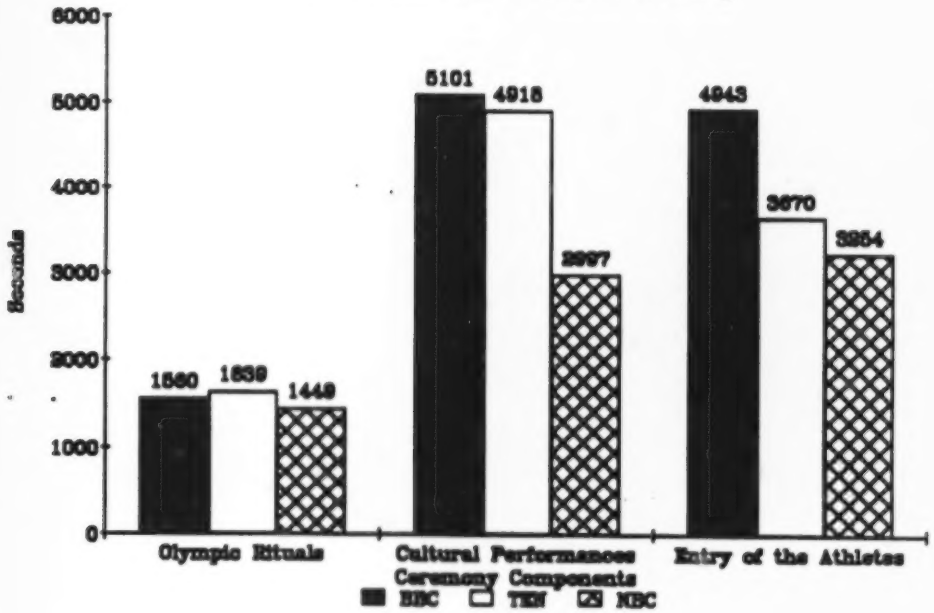


Figure 2

Time Devoted to the Official Ceremony



Chi-Square=241.66221 df=4 p<.001

Figure 3

Audio Themes by Broadcast

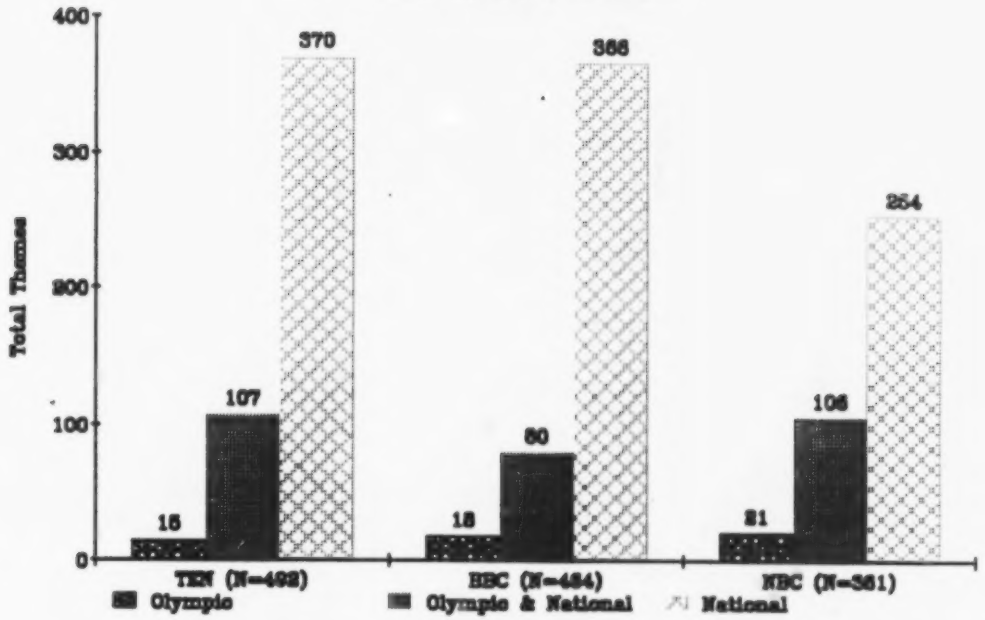


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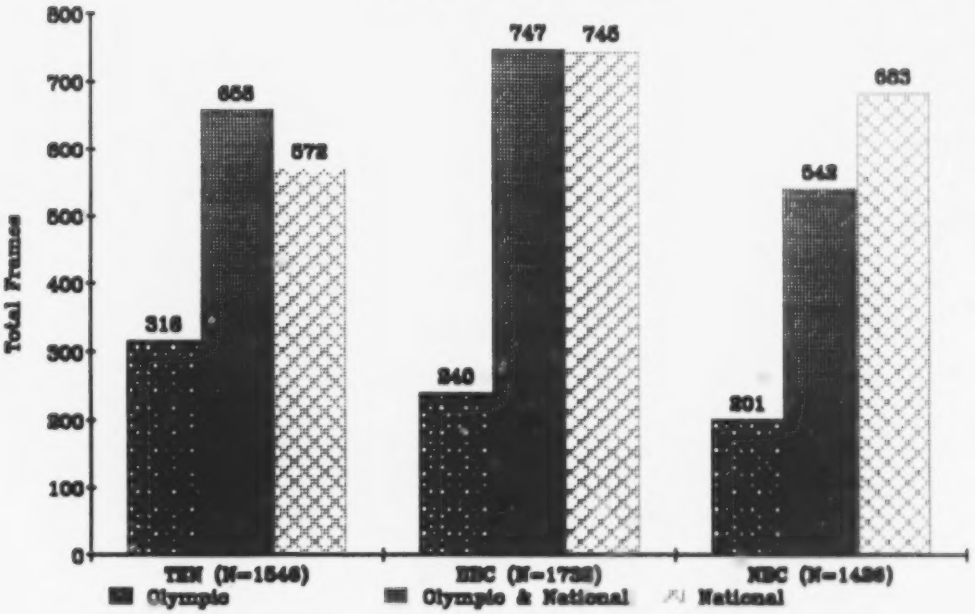
Figure 4

Visual Themes by Broadcast



Chi Square=53.666677 df=4 p<.001

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[4] The authors wish to thank Cherry Locke Foley and John Cook for supplying the BBC and Network TEN telecasts of the Seoul Olympic Opening Ceremony. They also wish to thank the host broadcaster, KBS/SORTO and the Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee for their generous assistance in supplying background documentation, The Goldstar Co, Ltd. for providing a grant of videocassette recorders for use in Olympics research, and the Sunkyong Co., Ltd. for providing the necessary videotape.

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[21] Perry, David K. "The Mass Media and Inference About Other Nations" Communication Research 12 (October 1985), 595-614.

[22] Caron, Andre H. "First-time Exposure to Television: Effects on Inuit Children's Cultural Images." Communication Research 6 (April 1979),pp. 135-154.

[23] White, Robert A. "Television as Myth and Ritual." Communication Research Trends 8:1, 1987.

[24] Bennett, W. Lance. News: The Politics of Illusion. New York: Longman, 1981, p. 74.

[25] Edelman, Murray. Constructing the Political Spectacle. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988.

[26] Tuchman, Gaye. Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality. New York: The Free Press, 1978.

[27] Gitlin, Todd. The Whole World is Watching. Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1980, p. 7.

[28] Hall, Stuart. "Encoding/decoding." in S. Hall, D. Hobson, A. Lowe and P. Willis (eds.) Culture, Media, Language. London: Hutchinson, 1980, pp. 128-138.

[29] Continuing the story line developed by the news media, Bryant Gumbel opened NBC's telecast of the Opening Ceremony by stating that the two central themes of the Seoul Olympics were first, security and security threats, and second, the record number of participating

nations. After showing an Olympic "Chronicle" on North Korea during the Opening Ceremony telecast, however, NBC quickly dropped the security theme having nothing to sustain it as a successful Seoul Games unfolded.

[30] Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee. Report on Television Broadcasting Operations for the Games of the XXIVTH Olympiad, April 1989, pp. 21-23.

[31] Kaplan, Abraham. The Conduct of Inquiry: Methodology for Behavioral Science. New York: Harper & Row, 1963, p. 239.

[32] Kneale, Dennis. "Poor Olympics Performance Stuns NBC." Wall Street Journal. September 27, 1988, p. 33.

[33] Dayan and Katz, 1987, p. 46.

[34] Sohn Kee Chung has participated in ceremonies in both Los Angeles and Berlin that corrected his name and nationality on Olympic monuments in those cities.

[35] Dayan and Katz,1987 p. 44.

[36] The KBS international feed did broadcast one sign in the American delegation ("Hi Mom. I'm Here") during the Entry of Athletes. The footage showed up in both the BBC and TEN telecasts with only TEN commentators acknowledging the sign. All three broadcasters commented on the U.S. team's sloppy procession. BBC commentators attributed it to the large and unruly size of the team, adding that some "lightheartedness just entered the stadium." TEN commentators at first called the U.S. team "relaxed," thenworried a bit about the athletes being "all over track" creating a traffic jam. NBC commentators noted that the Americans "will get no 10's for parade marching" explaining that the athletes were probably going off the track in order to get in the shade and take pictures of each other. At first Bryant Gumbel expressed concern that the U.S. team was "unfortunately drifting back into Vanuatu" (as he was conducting his on-the-field interview with Carl Lewis), but finally summarized the situation by stating "I think everyone's having a little fun today."

[37] Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee. "Scenario for the Opening and Closing Ceremonies: Beyond All Barriers." a 123-page document with commentary (in English) for use in broadcast and press materials and including explanatory and reference material. September, 1988.

[38] The SLOOC document (see previous footnote) said: The procession is destined for the southernmost corner of the square and the towering "World Tree (Cosmic Tree)." This mythical plant is the blender of all ideas and ideals. It's the "World Tree (Cosmic Tree)" that appears in many forms in the mythology of every race and every people. It's a symbol of the link between heaven and earth. According to Korean custom, it's called the *Shindan* tree, a sacred birch. In China it's called the *Busing* tree, a mulberry tree from which the sun ascends. The "World Tree (Cosmic Tree)" soars 29 meters high, a sculpture designed

and built by painter Lee Man-ik. In this "Land of Morning Calm"--in the presence of the "World Tree (Cosmic Tree)"--the world is greeting the new dawn of eternal youth, harmony and strength. This moment of awe and mystery is when the sun's rays brake through the darkness and brought the dawn of time [sic]. Look! All of a sudden the "World Tree (Cosmic Tree)" has turned into the Olympic cauldron. For the 16 days to come, this burning tree--the mythical tree that ushered in dawn for mankind--will light the world square before us. The cauldron towers 22 meters (72.18 ft.) high. Its plate is 5.5 meters (18.04 ft.) in diameter. The pole is octagon shaped. It's designed by architect Kim Soo-kun, who was inspired by the korean candle holder before his untimely death. [And, in a later explanatory note the document adds] For the first time in Olympic history, the Olympic cauldron is used as a prop for the opening day performances. Symbolizing the prototype of the universe, it gives surprise and even shocks to the audience as it is suddenly unveiled. Post-modern elements can be found in the flexibility and manifold meanings of the world tree turned Olympic cauldron as it is used...From an analytic point of view, the performance is a mixture of "Happening art" and traditional Korean folk ritual. It is a harmonious combination of past and future cultures.

[39] Dayan and Katz, 1987 p. 45.